How to Control Prices—*H. Gordon Hayes*

THE *Nation*

February 3, 1951

Coming Showdown

Fury and Frustration - - - *Willard Shelton*
Return to Diplomacy - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
Equal Among Equals? - - *Howard K. Smith*
Satellites or Allies? - - - - *Freda Kirchwey*

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Pressures and Pictures

BY GILBERT SELDES

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Tito's Rebellion

BY ROBERT LEE WOLFF

FEB 2 1951
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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HESITATION AND appalling lack of preparation probably left Eric Johnston, the new stabilization administrator, with no alternative to the wage-and-price freeze orders of January 26. The effectiveness of his program will depend partly on the speed and realism with which the orders are modified and an enforcement staff created, and partly on the Administration's willingness to fight with Congress for new authority to control food prices and rents. The union leaders, who understandably refused to initiate wage controls in the absence of price controls, were nevertheless shedding crocodile tears when they acted as if they believed that the wage freeze was permanent. A policy had previously been established by the White House, for wage rises to match increases in living costs, and it was generally understood that Cyrus Ching's Wage Stabilization Board would continue this policy. In any case, prices are the chief problem. Only the government, armed with statutory powers and an adequate staff, can work out specific dollars-and-cents ceilings which will assure fulfilment of production needs and will protect consumers. Congress will not initiate changes in the law guaranteeing parity prices for farm products, but food subsidies worked in Great Britain and they can work here. Johnston's first step was a necessary one, but to be valuable it must be quickly followed by others, including rent controls and a roll-back of prices in fields where profiteering has been flagrant.

*

WITH NEARLY A MILLION COAL AND STEEL workers threatening to strike on February 1, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the West German Cancellor, agreed to support legislation giving labor *Mitbestimmungsrecht*—an equal voice in the direction of the coal and steel industries. Thereupon he found himself in trouble with the right-wing sections of his coalition government—the Free Democratic and German parties—and as we go to press, the situation remains critical, with the unions refusing to withdraw their strike notices until assured of action by the Bundestag. If Adenauer pushes this legislation, he can presumably carry his party, the Christian Democrats, with him and obtain its passage with the aid of the Social Democratic opposition. But the coalition government might not survive a split on so important an issue. On the other hand, if he goes back on his agreement with the unions, he will face a devastating strike at a moment when the West German economy is already suffering from shortages of coal and steel. The German workers are in deadly earnest, and on this question the two chief groups in the trade-union movement—the Catholics and the Social Democrats—are united, despite pressure on the Catholics by some members of the hierarchy. German labor believes that only by sharing in the direction of the great coal and steel corporations can it be insured against the consequences of irresponsible management. It has not forgotten, as some American officials in Germany, preoccupied with problems of rearmament, seem to have done, that a handful of Ruhr magnates secretly financed and supported Hitler.

*

FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW THE TARIFF MAY seem to be a moot issue at this time. New obstacles to world trade are growing, but they are founded on political and strategic rather than economic considerations. With world-wide shortages of goods threatening, even high customs duties do little to deter imports. Thus in this country we are frantically bidding for foreign supplies of many raw materials and manufactured articles—metals, steel, chemicals, oil and wool, for example—on which we continue to impose protective duties. Obviously, in these circumstances it is not the foreigner but the American consumer who pays the tax. Nevertheless, for the Rip van Winkles of the G. O. P. the tariff remains American industry's first line of defense and a necessary means of preventing our standard of living from being washed away in a flood of cheap foreign products. So once again we are witnessing an effort to undermine the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which the Administration wants extended for another three years, by adding to it the so-called "peril-point amendment." This clause may appear relatively innocuous: it provides that if the Tariff Commission advises the President that a proposed tariff cut might prove harmful to an American industry, he must justify such a reduction to Congress before approving it. In practice such a restriction would make negotiations with other countries much more cumbersome, since our representatives could only conclude tentative agreements pending the deliberations

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of the Tariff Commission, which might be very deliberate. In addition, we agree with Secretary Acheson that any weakening of the act would have most unfortunate international repercussions.

*

IT WAS THE ELDER MORGAN, WE BELIEVE, who once said that, as a banker, he was more interested in a borrower's character than in his security. Apparently the directors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development who have just agreed to lend the Union of South Africa $50,000,000 and the chiefs of eight leading American commercial banks who are providing a $30,000,000 credit for the same customer do not agree. "To hell with character," they seem to be saying, "as long as the security is O.K." Undoubtedly, from a balance-sheet point of view, South Africa is a good credit risk. It is the world's greatest producer of gold; it exports large quantities of wool, which now commands famine prices in world markets; it has important deposits of strategic minerals; finally, the waste from its gold mines may prove a major source of uranium. With such varied riches South Africa should have no difficulty in meeting its obligations. Nevertheless, we should have thought it proper for the International Bank directors, and the American committee which exercises effective supervision of its operations, to weigh the moral and political risks involved. Are these gentlemen unaware that the South African government has defied the United Nations by annexing its mandated territory of South West Africa? Have they not heard that it is pursuing a savage racialist policy and depriving its eight million native and Indian citizens of all rights—political, social, and economic? And does it not know that the policy, and the police-state methods used to enforce it, are creating increasingly strong revolutionary sentiments? The larger part of the International Bank loan has a term of twenty years. As things are going, a tragic upheaval in South Africa seems likely long before 1971.

*

WE SUPPOSE THAT ONLY A JUNIOR COLLEGE deep in the heart of New Jersey—for so long besotted with Hague and Hague—could command the ignorance to accuse Mark Van Doren of being a Communist sympathizer, the stupidity to remove four of his books, dealing with Shakespeare and poetry, from its library shelves, and the dictatorial arrogance to refuse Mr. Van Doren a hearing. We hope the Jersey City Board of Education, which ordered the removal, will be flooded with protests from Mr. Van Doren's wide range of readers and that a way will be found to challenge the legality of the ban as well as to demonstrate the absurdity of the charge. Meanwhile we have no doubt that the students at Jersey City Junior College will take a fresh interest in Shakespeare and poetry as set forth by Mr. Van Doren, and we look forward happily to a boom in the Bard.

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Security and Freedom

OFFHAND it would seem that the last thing this country needs is another committee to deal with subversive activities, real or imaginary. Until last week we had the Subversive Activities Control Board, created under the McCarran Act, the Federal Loyalty Review Board, with subordinate Loyalty Boards for all the executive departments, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Civil Service Commission, scores of state committees and agencies, and, not least in zeal, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Now we are to have, in addition, a Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator McCarran, himself, and a Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, appointed by the President.

It takes only the most meager imagination to appreciate the purpose of the new Senate group or predict its line of action. McCarran will have under him such lovers of liberty as Eastland of Mississippi, a filibustering Dixiecrat, and Jenner of Indiana, whose abuse of General Marshall shocked the entire Senate of the Eighty-first Congress, which did not shock easily. The McCarran agency is set up, first, to watch the Administration's every move in the execution of the McCarran-sponsored Internal Security Act. It plans, second, to investigate the execution of all other laws pertaining to sabotage and espionage. And, to make sure of a field-day, it will look into the extent and nature of subversive activities in its own right, thus providing competition of the most direct sort for the Un-American Activities Committee of the House. The Judiciary Committee appears certain to get half the $150,000 it requested, any fraction of which is a gross extravagance.

The President's Commission is as necessary and as promising as the McCarran subcommittee is useless and threatening. When the Tydings committee last year branded Senator McCarthy's infamous charges a "fraud and a hoax," a cry went up for a saner method of dealing with the whole problem of disloyalty and subversion. President Truman has now appointed such a body, and the mandate under which it is to operate is an exercise of high statesmanship. The commission is to examine present laws, practices, and procedures, both public and private, for the bearing they have not only on the nation's security, but also on the protection of individuals "from unwarranted attacks and from unwarranted infringement of their rights and liberties in the name of security." Its objective will be to discover the elusive "balance . . . between security and freedom," which the President wisely asserts must be guarded from "armed assault . . . from subversive infiltration . . . from internal suppression and the deadly imposition of conformity."

Experienced libertarians may wonder whether the personnel of the commission is up to such a task. Headed by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, the nine members make their first appearance on the public scene in a capacity of this sort. Certainly a body composed of a Protestant bishop, a Catholic bishop, top executives of J. P. Morgan and Company, Firestone Tire and Rubber, and the American Woolen Company; the head of the District of Columbia Selective Service Board, the former president of the League of Women Voters, and a conservative Republican ex-Senator would seem to be beyond the range of the Know-Nothing artillery. Perhaps this was the guiding principle in making the appointments, in itself an "imposition of uniformity." If so, the gesture already seems to have misfired. Senator Ferguson has condemned the order as a devious effort to counteract the agencies of Congress.

The truth, of course, is just the reverse. Only a nonpartisan, genuinely non-political group, enjoying the confidence of the public, can cut through the jungle of intrigue that has been deliberately cultivated by self-seekers, on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. Whether the new commission will enjoy the public confidence will depend on the counsel and executive secretary it selects to do its basic investigating and the manner in which it carries on its duties. We can only hope that the personal integrity and common sense of the commissioners, plus capable staff work and expert testimony will place the question of "security and freedom" in a perspective beyond the vision of a McCarthy, a McCarran, or a Ferguson.

Satellites or Allies?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST week's discussion on this page of the reasons for the split over the Far Eastern question between the United States and its friends abroad, is impressively amplified this week in Howard K. Smith's dispatch from London. The facts he reports are even more disturbing when one realizes that they are repeated, though in a different and less overt way, in connection with Germany and the proposed meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Thus, while agreements on European rearmament and military organization take shape under General Eisenhower's genial prodding, and talks with the Germans about their share in Europe's defense proceed along several different lines, a contrary current seems to be gaining momentum. Europe's leaders want negotiations with Russia soon, before the arming of Germany gets under way. The threat of German rearmament, they recognize, has made talks with Russia possible; the actuality might bring about a "preventive war" launched from Moscow. What they want is to take advantage of Russia's obvious alarm, and of the proposed four-power talks, to drive a bargain, if one is possible, which will obviate the necessity of German rearmament altogether. And they

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are afraid that America's reluctance to engage in any serious negotiations until the defense of Europe—including particularly the creation of German armed forces—has been completed may destroy all chance of agreement. This anxiety is increased by their belief that while Russia really fears a remilitarized Germany and wants a German settlement, the United States stands committed to the former and fears the latter.

It is not that most responsible Europeans doubt the need of preparing for defense or question Russia's desire to break the unity of the West by alternating doses of intimidation and cajolery. They know Moscow's methods quite as well as Mr. Acheson does and have more reason to be wary. But they also believe, as they know the United States does not, that a deal based on the realistic interests of both sides may be possible and that any chance to achieve it must be pursued energetically and in good faith.

Russia's note of November 3 proposing a four-power meeting on Germany was the direct result of the decision of the three chief Western powers to arm the Germans as part of an integrated European defense force. From the moment the proposal was made, Washington disliked it, and only the insistence of our allies, the French in particular, induced the United States to agree to talks if they were not confined to Germany but took in all "causes of present international tensions." Along with the Allied reply a gloomy background statement was published in which the State Department expressed its conviction that there was little chance a conference now would accomplish anything useful.

The Soviet Union answered on December 30 in somewhat ambiguous terms. It insisted that Germany must be the chief problem discussed but hinted that other related topics might be included. This note was also interpreted differently here and in Western Europe. Washington was wholly dissatisfied; France and Britain somewhat hopeful. But after much delay and difficulty they agreed on a counter-proposal that went to Moscow last week, reiterating the belief that any discussion limited to Germany would be futile but suggesting an "exploratory meeting" in Paris of "representatives" of the four powers to find "a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the foreign ministers" and to recommend a suitable agenda which would take in other questions besides that of Germany. To this no reply has been received.

But several warnings from Moscow, culminating in last week's angry and threatening notes to Britain and France, have made it clear that no matter how many other topics are included, the German issue will remain at the top of the agenda if a Big Four meeting is held. Those notes have generally been discounted in the American press as bullying attempts at intimidation designed only to divide and confuse the Western coalition. The recipients, especially the French, take them more seriously, accepting as genuine Moscow's fear of a Germany rearmed and geared for heavy production. More than this, France itself so shrinks from the implications of an armed German state on its borders that its government is still wriggling to discover some way out of its commitment on this point to Washington. Nor can it dismiss as invalid Moscow's charge that the rearming of the Germans is a breach of its treaty with Russia. It can take what cold comfort there is in the bland misstatements with which the Russian note is laced—such as the denial that a "para-military" police force has been formed in Eastern Germany or the claim that Russia's own forces have been considerably reduced, but the important fact for France is the dangers, direct and indirect, that lie in German rearmament. This fact, which concerns Britain and the smaller states of Western Europe quite as much, constitutes the deepest source of trouble between these nations and the United States.

WASHINGTON may want to discuss "all causes" of tension—if discussions cannot be avoided. France and its neighbors want to find a solution of the German problem which will eliminate the need to create a German army. And in this desire they are joined by an important proportion of the German people themselves. The opposition to rearmament in Germany remains a powerful obstacle to Washington's aims which can be overcome, it looks likely, only by such drastic concessions to German national pride that even Americans may boggle at the price.

One thing is certain: if the United States refuses a reasonable Russian proposal for keeping Germany demilitarized and neutral, its troubles with its allies will multiply. That a reasonable proposal will be made if the four powers meet is not unlikely. This possibility may have been hinted at in a new unity offer from the East German government reported in last Sunday's New York *Times*. The story came from The Hague and has not been officially verified as we go to press, but the supposed terms are interesting:

(1) Disbanding of the East German People's Police and abandonment of plans to rearm West Germany; (2) withdrawal of all foreign troops in Germany; (3) unification of Germany through an election to be held under international auspices; (4) establishment of a neutral German state.

If this offer turns out to be genuine, it may well be intended as a Soviet balloon, sent up in advance of the Big Four meeting to try the direction of the wind and the temperature of the air. Were it to bring back favorable indications it might become the pattern for Russia's offer to the Western powers. Such an offer would be difficult for the United States to reject out of hand even if it were not part of a scheme of general settlement.

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Return to Diplomacy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 27

THIS week was an extraordinarily interesting one at Lake Success, for the debate on the two principal resolutions—one introduced by Senator Austin and one by Sir Benegal N. Rau—mirrored perfectly the world situation. As soon as Sir Benegal, on Monday, imparted to the Political Committee the contents of a communication from Peking amplifying its original counter-proposals in a way to increase the chances of a peaceful settlement, something like panic was perceptible among the active cohorts of the United States. This was not the panic which has seized the West before—at the prospect of large-scale Communist aggression directed by Russia. It was not panic at the imminence of war but panic at the possibility of peace. Certain delegates were utterly dismayed by the thought that during the forty-eight hours' adjournment asked by India, Peking might make another conciliatory move and so undermine the American resolution declaring Communist China an aggressor and preparing the machinery of sanctions.

That the chief function of the United Nations was to explore every opportunity of restoring peace, even at a time of crisis or in the midst of a battle, was in danger of being overlooked. Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Great Britain rendered a most important service by emphasizing this duty in a speech that represented a return to classical diplomacy. Weighing every word, he subjected the situation confronting the U. N. to a dispassionate analysis. He agreed with the American delegation about the aggressive character of Chinese action in Korea, but he said the first thing to do was to look for something constructive or encouraging in Chou En-lai's original note and its later amplification. His objections to the "additional measures" proposed in the American resolution were phrased moderately but unequivocally. "My government feels that until the situation has been further clarified, until we have the answers to some of these major questions, we should not do well to consider measures which in fact prejudge them. Such measures, if indeed they were applied, might only result in further crises, with consequences none of us could foretell." It was in many respects a remarkable speech—the British Foreign Office at its best.

The next day, Friday, the Canadian Minister for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, offered new arguments against precipitate action. He reminded those who were clamoring for a declaration of aggression that the failure of the League of Nations in the case of Ethiopia, so often mentioned in the debate, was not due to its refusal to name Mussolini an aggressor but to its naming him one and deciding to apply sanctions against him and then not applying them. Mr. Pearson's positive ideas, which he put forward as informal suggestions rather than as a resolution, were very intelligent, but his speech was strewn with contradictions, conscious or not, culminating in the statement that while he disagreed with the United States delegation he would support it.

There is little prospect that the present policy of trying to contain communism everywhere, whether or not the means are available, will be altered through the advice or warning of other members of the Atlantic coalition. The United States is irritated or offended by any sign of opposition. According to an American news agency, the British government actually received a diplomatic warning from Washington on Friday that failure to support the American resolution might have a "catastrophic effect" on public opinion here. If within the Atlantic coalition dissent is considered disloyalty and within the United States itself any criticism is branded pro-Russian and subversive, where is the hope that errors may be stopped or corrected?

The Political Committee adjourned today, Saturday, without taking a vote. Senator Austin, in response to a request from the Canadian and Lebanese delegations for a definite statement on what new authority the American resolution would bestow on the Unified Command, said that the ultimate decision on additional measures would be left exclusively to the General Assembly after the Collective Measures Committee had studied the question and made recommendations. The anxiety felt by many delegations, however, was not allayed. Once Communist China was branded an aggressor and denied admission to the U. N., and the issue of Formosa decided against it, the door to negotiation, they felt, would be practically closed, even though Senator Austin disputed this.

The only way to continue the return to diplomacy begun by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, and the only hopeful strategy to use at this stage of the discussion, would be to give greater scope and precision to the Arab-Asian resolution by incorporating in it Mr. Pearson's constructive proposals and any other amendments which might increase the number of votes it can command. Intelligently modified, the resolution of the twelve nations would still have a chance. Of course if the American resolution is supported by countries like Canada, despite their disapproval, it will be assured of the necessary two-thirds' majority on Monday or Tuesday, or whenever the vote is taken. But if adopted, it will be by the votes of nations that essentially do not like it.

If one looks beyond the accidental features of the debate, one perceives that it has been in effect an expression of lack of confidence in American leadership within the United Nations and of a conviction that diplomacy can do more than headstrong action to maintain the U. N. as an effective instrument of peace. Otherwise

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bankruptcy awaits the United Nations, which with all its faults and weaknesses is the single international organization the world possesses. Its future must not be gambled away as if at the roulette tables at Monte Carlo in a mood of irresponsible panic.

Fury and Frustration

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 25

TWO years after he assumed office Secretary of State Acheson received from the Senate a double-barreled vote of confidence which in the matter of Far Eastern policy made him more securely than ever the prisoner of his critics. It is a curious irony that this extraordinarily intelligent official, whose aloofness and suavity have irritated Congress perhaps more than his diplomacy, should suddenly find the Senate appearing to approve his every act, yet actually tying his hands and freezing American hostility toward Communist China into so rigid a pattern that there seems little hope of change. It is Senator Knowland's China policy that has gained ground rather than the policy of detaching China from the Kremlin proclaimed by Acheson a year ago.

No one should underestimate the strength of the emotions behind the Senate resolutions calling on the United Nations to brand Communist China as an aggressor and to bar it from U. N. membership. Fury and frustration propelled them to passage. There have been more than 50,000 American casualties in Korea, and the Senators are answerable for them to the people. Ever since last August Moscow has charged in the U. N. that the United States, not the North Koreans and Chinese, was the aggressor in Korea, and the U. N. has refused to make a decision as to the truth of the charge.

None of the old-line isolationists played a principal role in the brief debate on the China resolutions. H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, a Republican who has steadfastly supported Senator Vandenberg, urged the U. N. to "screw up its courage . . . and recognize an obvious aggression" by the Chinese. Wayne Morse of Oregon, internationalist in every instinct, complained that in regard to Great Britain the problem was to determine "whether she is on our side or on the side of Red China." Senators McMahon and Lehman tried to get the prohibition against the admission of Communist China to the U. N. referred to committee, but the Democratic floor leader, Senator McFarland, forced a roll call, and neither Lehman or McMahon felt able to go on record as against the resolution. Both resolutions were passed unanimously after Senator McClelland, their sponsor, had declared: "The day that Communist China is admitted to membership in the United Nations the United States should walk out."

The Senate's action was a clear and unmistakable indorsement of Acheson's position: ever since January 6 our delegates at the U. N. have been trying to force through a denunciation of the Peking government. And just before the vote on the McClelland proposals the Senate gave Acheson another indorsement by burying the Wherry resolution, which sought to bar the movement of American forces to Europe under the North Atlantic Pact. Yet in his news conference the next day Acheson showed no exultation. With the non-Communist world still dangerously split, he seemed acutely aware that the effect of the votes was uncertain.

The plain fact is that the Department of State has no policy regarding what should be done if the U. N. finally condemns the Chinese in accordance with our wishes, though Mr. Acheson and his associates recognize that we must avoid at all costs the deadly trap of full-scale war on the Chinese mainland. President Truman at his news conference today tried to take the edge off the Senate votes by formally renewing assurances that we would avoid "rash and unwise" action and that the question of "what can and should be done" if the Chinese are denounced would be discussed with all "friendly nations." There is no present intention of unleashing General "Rosy" O'Donnell and the atom bomb or of using the undependable troops of Chiang Kai-shek to create what Senator Taft calls a "diversion" against the Chinese Communists.

But neither is there any plan for positive action. Blockade of Chinese ports and an embargo on trade? No one thinks this would be particularly effective, especially since the Western Allies need tungsten and other Chinese materials. A "limited" war, such as Acheson is believed to have urged at the time of the Truman-Attlee conference last December? It is now recognized that the Chinese would possess the initiative and set the limits. The only specific suggestion from our policy-makers has been that a do-nothing program is the worst possible.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, irritated by Nehru's refusal to recognize the moral advance signalized by our readiness to spend American blood for the principles of the U. N., today sidetracked an authorization of American aid to famine-threatened India. Because Nehru's political views are not the same as ours, thousands of India's people may be allowed to die. India could have obtained wheat from Pakistan at less than the price of American wheat, but Pakistan's wheat surplus has now been sold elsewhere, and unless America offers aid, famine in India will become an actuality. Mr. Acheson realizes that any attempt to starve another nation into supporting our position is suicidal, but the mood of Congress is bitter and intractable.

The free world is also divided on the question of German rearmament. When the United States announced its determination to arm the Germans it had not con-

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sulted with Britain and France. The result was to frighten the French, to inform the Germans that they could set their price high, and to lend some weight to the subsequent massive Russian propaganda campaign against our program. The Europeans, whose living space would be the battleground in a war between Russia and the United States, were forced to wonder whether rearmament would not be more likely to provoke conflict than to create the "situations of strength" which, according to Acheson, would make negotiation with Russia feasible.

There is no danger today, as there was when McCarthy was attacking the State Department last year, that Acheson may be forced out of office on the basis of charges that he is "soft toward communism." But he faces tremendous difficulties. He must settle the Korean problem, unite the Western world, and re-create a situation in which we can speak effectively to the Asians, including both Nehru and the Chinese Communists. The men with whom Acheson most profoundly disagreed a year ago are now in control of our policy toward Asia.

Equal Among Equals?

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, January 28

THE rift between Britain and the United States over Asian policy that burst wide open in the United Nations this week is a real and profound division and not a temporary misunderstanding. And the sharp differences between the two nations are not only apparent in diplomatic circles but strongly manifested in public opinion. To most Americans, no doubt, Mr. Austin's arguments seem irrefutable. Chinese intervention in the Korean war is as clear a case of aggression as was Japanese intervention in China in 1933. To appease the Chinese Communists would only encourage them to overrun other small nations in the Far East in the future.

In Britain, however, most people feel that we have ignored the two big differences between the Chinese action now and the Japanese action in 1933. First, the Japanese were full-fledged members of the League of Nations with every right to state their case and the corresponding duty to respect the League's decisions. The Chinese today, however, are not permitted representation in the United Nations. They are not granted a position of equality with other nations or the right to state their case at all times at the bar of world opinion. It may then be understandable that they have little respect for an organization in which the uninfluential nations of Latin America have 40 per cent of the vote while the Chinese, constituting a quarter of the earth's population, have no vote at all. The British tend to believe that this is the original cause of the whole Asian trouble. It is no good, it is said here, talking of international principles so long as that basic negation of international principle continues.

The other difference between the Chinese and the Japanese actions is this: The Japanese then could hardly argue that they were menaced by the flabby, disunited Chinese state which they attacked. They were not fighting defensively. But the Chinese today can and do argue that they are fighting a defensive-offensive, and their argument is having great influence throughout the free world beyond America. They maintain, and their claim was supported last week in the very respectable *News-Chronicle*, that U. N. policy in Korea is being made, not merely carried out, by General MacArthur, who has in the past stretched U. N. orders beyond recognition to fit his personal ideas. The General allowed South Korean forces to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel before the U. N. gave permission. He allowed President Syngman Rhee to set up an occupation regime in North Korea against the instructions of the U. N. He launched his home-by-Christmas drive toward the Manchurian border while the U. N. was making plans to halt short of the frontier.

MacArthur's policy is well known. Long before the Korean war it was friendship for Chiang Kai-shek and extreme hostility toward the Peking regime. In America he has become the mouthpiece of the China lobby and other pressure groups whose avowed aim is the violent overthrow of the Communists. The question asked here is: if you saw a man with that amount of power and those purposes approaching your borders, what would you do? Might you not decide to fight him before he got there? Chinese truculence, furthermore, may be all the greater because we are now preparing to rearm the old aggressors next door to Korea, the Japanese.

One need not accept this whole argument in order to agree that the Chinese may have a case that should be heard. Most people outside America believe that the Chinese action may have been provoked by fear, that their motives may be defensive. Until the opposite is proved, Britain and most of Europe are reluctant to take steps which would shut the door on a negotiated settlement. It is felt here that officially stamping China an aggressor might do just that. For once the stigma is officially attached to China, powerful interests in the United States—the China lobby, the Luce magazines, the Hearst papers—would have a plausible argument for refusing to negotiate. The British and most Western nations also balk at talk of further punitive measures against China. This objection was explained by the London *Times* the other day. With MacArthur's practiced ability to stretch the U. N.'s general instructions, the

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Times said, this vague proposal might in time be stretched to mean that he could bomb China and start an all-out conflict.

NOW the case I have stated, which is that of other countries besides Britain, adds up to one essential and disturbing fact. Our friends are growing to distrust American leadership. The London *Economist,* whose admiration for the United States is usually unqualified, said in this week's issue, "We must ask Americans to take our word for it that great harm has been done to British confidence in American ability to lead the free world." The basic reasons for this distrust can be set down in order. First, our government has shown amazing volatility and vacillation in making and carrying out policy for the West. Last year, for example, we decided Korea and Formosa could not be defended. By saying so in public, we invited the aggression which was presently launched. Then, overnight, we changed our policy and were ready to defend Korea and Formosa above everything else in the world. This, and many other indications that we do not quite know what our long-term policy is, have made our allies wonder whether we know where we are leading them. Second, no other nation allows military men such power of policy determination as we allow General MacArthur. And since many people outside the United States do not like and do not trust the policy he supports, their uneasiness is increased. Third, no other nation permits so many irresponsible public statements from high places. There were, to cite just a few, Secretary Matthews's advocacy of preventive war, General O'Donnell's atom-bomb statement of last week, the Formosa policy statement of Ernest Gross. The first two were afterward repudiated but in a fashion to further confuse our motives. Fourth, reports from America are giving the impression that the Administration is making policy to appease irresponsible internal criticism rather than to fit the world situation. Thus our friends are afraid to brand China the aggressor, for though the State Department may be restrained and sensible today, criticism from Senator McCarthy might induce it to declare later that the U. N. action ruled out further efforts to end the fighting by negotiation.

Finally, much criticism has been heard about our behavior last week toward the United Nations, especially the resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Manchester *Guardian* expressed the general resentment, pointing out that this was the first time any nation had ever been so bold as to give the United Nations outright orders. The London *Economist* wrote, "American policy has taken the shape now of issuing peremptory instructions to the U. N. by Congressional resolution and then flying into a temper when they are not immediately obeyed." Still worse was Senator Connally's statement indicating that America might deprive India of surplus American food because it voted against us. The general feeling was probably best expressed in the *New Statesman and Nation* this week. "The real issue of this week's events," that paper said, "is whether the Western alliance is to be a pact of equals or the suzerainty of one over all the rest." In that statement there is food for much thought.

Pressures and Pictures: I

BY GILBERT SELDES

ON DECEMBER 23, 1950, Edward T. McCaffrey, commissioner of licenses for the city of New York, ordered the Paris Theater to end its presentation of an Italian movie, "The Miracle." With that action began a case more complex than most in the history of civil liberties and in several ways more important than any recent test of the laws that stem from the First Amendment. By the middle of February the New York Board of Regents is expected to decide whether "The Miracle" may continue to be shown. If they decide against the picture, the issue will be taken to the courts, and the interested public will discover that *movies are not protected by the First Amendment.* If the decision is to continue the picture, a powerful organized drive will be undertaken to alter the New York State law in order to subject the Board of Regents to minority pressures. That is the bearing of the case of "The Miracle."

Some of the steps in the case were accompanied by an unusual candor. Mr. McCaffrey, for instance, made the gratuitous announcement that his private sensibilities were involved; he said he found the picture "personally and officially blasphemous." And in calling for a boycott of the picture Cardinal Spellman clearly indicated his feeling that if the Regents resisted pressure, the law under which they operate must be changed. In addition to generalized protests against "minority pressures," direct attacks on the Catholic hierarchy have been made by Protestant ministers, both in-

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dividually and in groups. The lines are clearly drawn, and for the most part the issues have been fairly stated. On minor points, however, there have been some peculiar manifestations: pickets have denounced ticket-buyers at the theater for being Communists, pacifists have demonstrated, and a writer to the New York Sunday *Times* achieved an almost impossible combination of cross-eyed logic and sound political strategy in this statement: "I say continuing this picture is rule by the minority, because where do you have an organized group who approve it that is as large as the group that objects?" I suggest that every candidate for office hereafter should be required to parse this sentence and make public his reply.

Two legal problems have already come up. "The Miracle" was restored to the screen of the Paris Theater because the courts doubted the right of an official who *licenses theaters* to withdraw a license when the theater was showing *pictures licensed* for exhibition by the state authority, and this purely jurisdictional dispute is temporarily ended. The second point is more complicated. Pictures are approved by the Motion Picture Division of the state Board of Education; if a license is refused, the interested party may appeal for a review. But there is grave doubt whether an appeal can be made for the revocation of a license, and lawyers who have studied Section 125 of the education law, which is central on this point, are convinced that it refers only to permits for special films, including scientific and educational ones; such permits are revocable if action is taken by the director of the Motion Picture Division. But there seems to be no provision for reviewing a favorable decision on an ordinary entertainment film.

Nevertheless, the Board of Regents has ordered a review. No evidence is given that the Motion Picture Division initiated the action, but after Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of "The Miracle" "hundreds of letters" were received by the Regents, and a committee of three was appointed to look at the picture and make a report. On January 19 the Chancellor of the board announced the unanimous opinion of this committee that "the picture is sacrilegious" and set January 30 for a hearing at which the distributor, Joseph Burstyn, must show cause why the license—which had actually been given twice—should not be revoked. Appointed to hear the case were the same three men whose judgment has been quoted. One of them, Jacob L. Holtzmann, issued a statement. He said that "the Board of Regents has not characterized 'The Miracle' as sacrilegious, nor has it made a determination that it has the power to rescind the action of the Motion Picture Division in issuing the license." This is technically true, since the board as a whole has not acted.

The board has, however, opened the way for any group of "several hundred people" to threaten the security of any movie distributor. Unless it accomplishes an exceptional feat of self-denial and declares itself without power to reverse its own decisions, the area in which pressure groups can work will have been enormously extended. The board has invited discussion of this point, but the critical question is whether it had any power to appoint the committee of review in the first place.

WITH this we move out of the area of law into the ill-defined and treacherous area of pressure; occasional candor of utterance gives way to the obscurity of triple negatives, and the overtones of the words used are a joy to the amateur semanticist. What the picture actually is becomes less important than what people think it is, and those who have seen the picture are less influential than those who have been simultaneously directed not to see it but to protest against it.

Under a still from "The Miracle" *Life* ran the caption: "A demented goat girl lies rolling in a drunken ecstasy of love for a vagabond she believes is a saint come to visit her." In *The Nation* Manny Farber called the girl "a talkative idiot"; Cardinal Spellman spoke of the "seduction of an idiotic Italian woman"; and Roberto Rossellini, who made the picture, pleading with the Cardinal for a more sympathetic attitude, wrote that "the 'Miracle' occurs when with the birth of the child the poor demented woman regains sanity in her maternal love."

I do not say that these descriptions are wide of the mark; but the image of slobbering sexuality they call up simply does not appear in the picture. Nor does the image of the transfigured mother. It is only because she imagines that she is seeing and hearing a saint that the girl is presented as abnormal; when she meets a bearded stranger right out of an indifferent Renaissance painting, she babbles and accepts the wine he silently offers her; she becomes heavy and languorous with desire. After she has borne her child she murmurs a few words of maternal love. There is nothing hideous in her "idiocy," nothing orgiastic in her "ecstasy," nothing of "sanity regained" in her motherhood. The director, his enthusiastic critics, and his enemies have all created a figure in our minds that does not exist on the screen.

This does not mean that the picture is inoffensive to Catholics. It may even be offensive to others. But according to the present law, a picture must be licensed unless it offends in a specific way, by being "obscene, indecent, immoral, inhuman, sacrilegious, or of such a character that its exhibition would tend to corrupt morals or incite to crime." To be sacrilegious, the picture must hold religion up to contempt; the law does not say that a picture must be respectful to all the tenets of any single sect or church—it must respect religion. There are citizens of the United States to whom the presentation of Jesus as the son of God must seem blasphemous, but they have

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not protested against the showing of "The King of Kings." And one would not have to be a Christian to be offended by a parody of the Mass. It is, in fact, as a grotesque and tasteless parody of the story of Christ's birth that "The Miracle" is being attacked largely by people who have not seen it. One cannot quarrel with their right to think they might be offended if they did see it.

There is, however, a long step between being offended by a picture and taking drastic action to prevent it being seen by those whom it does not offend. That step is urged upon Catholics by Cardinal Spellman and upon Jews by several organizations in the case of "Oliver Twist"—with the additional reason that this picture may excite anti-Semitic feeling. We have to face the fact that not only in the field of mass communication but even in regard to all expression of opinion a great many people are ready to curtail freedom, sometimes to protect their special interests, sometimes to withdraw protection from their enemies. The atmosphere is peculiarly favorable to political dickering that will end in a compromise of principle.

In a following article I will discuss the forms and the limits of pressure. For the moment I note that something like a limit was reached last week when the New York Film Critics canceled plans to present their citations for the best film work of the year at the Radio City Music Hall. They had voted "Ways of Love," of which "The Miracle" is a part, the best foreign film. "It was intimated" that the presentation "would be regarded as an offense to Cardinal Spellman and to persons of the Catholic faith . . . and it was strongly suggested that it might provoke unpleasant demonstrations at the Music Hall and a call for boycott of the theater by the Cardinal." Apparently unwilling to accept these intimations which are so close to intimidations, Howard Barnes of the *Herald Tribune* made inquiries and got the impression that they were baseless. He was soon corrected. The chancellor of the archdiocese wrote to the managing director of Rockefeller Center stating "unequivocally" that Mr. Barnes's impression that "you would not incur the disfavor of the Catholic church and that you would not offend His Eminence is absolutely false."

It should not escape notice that the original "intimation" came from Martin Quigley, with whom the idea of the Production Code also originated.

How to Control Prices

BY H. GORDON HAYES

THERE is general agreement that the price rise must be checked. Although some form of administrative control is to be applied, this will not solve the problem. It will, moreover, reduce the elasticity which is so necessary for the proper functioning of our economic system and call for a large number of enforcement officials whose services might more properly be used elsewhere. Even with their best efforts, enforcement will be very difficult. Our general philosophy of every man for himself is antagonistic to such control except in a dire emergency.

A preferable plan in a limited emergency like the present is to control prices by taxation. We are, it seems, planning to shift some $30 billion worth of additional labor services and materials per year from peace-time to military and other defense purposes. This is only about 10 per cent of our gross national product; added to the amount that we have been devoting to these purposes, it would bring the total to less than 20 per cent of our gross product. In comparison with the approximately 50 per cent devoted to war purposes in 1944, the proportion is small enough to permit us to keep prices down by levying taxes and imposing only supplementary controls.

Some inflation cannot be avoided. Scare buying, as during the past several months, by firms and well-to-do consumers cannot be prevented; selfishness will out. Merely by the use of credit and the more prompt use of checking accounts such buyers can push prices up in an emergency. Even when storerooms, basements, and lockers are filled, we must still look to our prices.

The transfer of $30 billion worth of labor service and materials from their present peace-time use to military purposes is our basic economic problem. In 1940 and 1941 the principal problem was to absorb unemployed personnel and equipment in the production of both civilian and military goods and services. By doing that we could, and did, produce more of both guns and butter. But now, with practically no unemployment or idle equipment, we must cut down consumption if we are to produce the needed guns and train men to use them. A continuing increase in efficiency will help, but our additional military effort will largely depend on our

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curtailment of civilian goods and services. It is a case of either-or.

Some items in the non-military budget of the federal government may be reduced and the released money and labor applied to the military. Indeed, we should always be alert to the possibility that government funds are being spent for service that is little needed. Private expenditures may likewise be used for purposes that are of little use, and some even to pay for services that are positively harmful. Our aim, of course, should be to direct our effort to those ends that are most largely in the public interest, whether the expenditures be made by the government or by individuals and firms. Slashing government expenditures may be very unwise. At any rate, not enough could be saved from the $25 billion civilian budget to affect appreciably a $45 billion defense budget.

The government would be able to shift labor and materials to war work by creating new money and bidding against producers of civilian goods. But such additional money, together with the corresponding decrease in the amount of goods and services for sale to consumers, would push prices toward the roof. Obviously, therefore, new money should not be created. And it needs to be emphasized that borrowing at the banks means that an equivalent amount of money is added to the money stream.

The term "borrowing from the bank" confuses us. It implies that the money is simply transferred. Even the banks, we seem to think, can lend only the money that others have deposited. But that is far from true. The government gives bonds, or other of its securities, to the banks, and the bankers dip their pens in their inkwells and mark up a deposit for the government. This is new check-book money and is just as much an addition to the nation's supply of money as an equivalent amount of greenbacks. From June, 1940, to December, 1945, by borrowing from the banks we increased our total supply of money as measured by the Federal Reserve from $67 billion to $175 billion.

THE way to turn to military production and prevent prices from rising is, as I said, very simple. We merely have to give up enough money in taxes so that our demand for civilian goods will fall as the demand of the government for military goods increases. This will create unemployment in the one field and absorb it in the other. The supply of money left in the hands of consumers and business firms will be sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to buy the available civilian goods and services at current prices. Some persons would complain about this, as they are complaining now about the current mild increase in taxes. But financing additional military expenditures by creating new money instead of levying additional taxes would not result in more civilian goods and services but merely in higher prices for those that are available.

We should get the money needed to keep the budget in balance from income taxes on persons and corporations. The rates on personal income should be raised and the exemptions lowered as the need is manifested in relation to what the corporate tax can properly be made to yield. The taxation of corporations raises difficult problems. Heavy taxes may impede the corporations in the important service of building bigger and better plants. Without such improvements we cannot continue to experience the marked yearly increase of per capita output which has made possible the spectacular rise in our scale of living. Where to draw the line in respect to this matter calls for serious consideration. This point applies, obviously, both to what we call the corporate income tax and to the tax on excess profits.*

A national sales or manufacturers' excise tax is perhaps necessary if enough money is to be taken from consumers to keep prices down. A big danger is that such a tax, once enacted, could not easily be repealed. But dangers of one sort or another must be faced. By exempting food and food products an undue burden on the low-income groups, the most undesirable feature of a sales tax, would be avoided.

LAST year, during the five months May to September, inclusive, loans at all the banks in the United States increased by almost $6 billion. This was offset by a sale of about $2.4 billion in securities by the banks. Deposits increased by the difference, and this, with a shift of some time deposits to demand deposits, raised active checking accounts by $3.8 billion during these five months. In the same period of the year before, loans increased by only $820 million. The effect of this increase in check-book money last summer was augmented by a more rapid turnover of checking accounts. The Federal Reserve reports a turnover in New York City of 29.7 in April and 34.2 in September. For other leading cities the corresponding figures are 19.4 and 21.5. Total bank debits at "all reporting centers" amounted to $102.5 billion in April and $123.3 billion in September, or almost $21 billion more in September than in April, although checking accounts were only $3.8 billion higher in the one month than in the other. Here was a large part of the fuel for the price rise during the summer.

It must be noted, however, that newly created funds derived from business borrowing at the banks may be used to increase the output of goods for sale and in that case will not cause a price rise. But if such borrowing provides funds for the production of war goods to be delivered sometime later, an inflationary pressure will

*The excess-profits tax was discussed at greater length by Charles E. Noyes in *The Nation* of January 13.

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be created even though the government pays for the goods with tax funds. This indicates the desirability of collecting taxes before the funds are to be used. An accumulation of cash balances by the government is definitely anti-inflationary. Nothing can be more anti-inflationary except the use of such balances to buy government bonds from the banks, for the bonds may be used by the banks as a reserve for an expansion of check-book money.

An important part of our program must be the restriction of additional net borrowing by business. The Federal Reserve Board has already taken steps to achieve this by raising the rates at which member banks can borrow at the Federal Reserve banks. It can also raise the reserve requirements, having still a little leeway here. The effectiveness of these two devices is offset somewhat by the fact that they spur the banks to increase loans in order to compensate for the higher costs forced upon them. Nevertheless, such action by the Federal Reserve indicates to the member banks that credit should be restricted in the public interest, and even if they are not amenable to this call to duty, they are induced to be more cautious by fear that the authorities may impose further restrictions.

The Federal Reserve Board may also sell bonds and other securities to the member banks and thus reduce the volume of the members' balances (reserves), thereby lessening their ability to extend loans and create new money. If the member banks in turn sold bonds to their depositors, this would directly reduce the volume of check-book money. The board should, obviously, follow this policy as the need arises.

THE effort of the Federal Reserve Board to check inflationary pressure by increasing interest rates is rendered difficult by the policy of supporting the price of government securities at par. For as the rates of interest rise, the prices of securities fall. Perhaps we need to abandon the par-support policy and permit some five points' variation up or down. The extra burden laid on the Treasury by an increase in the rates paid on new issues given in exchange for those that mature may be very small as compared with the extra cost of government purchases caused by a rise in prices—not to mention the cost to the general public. Wise policy, it seems, calls for a freer application of the anti-inflationary device of stiffer rates of interest.

The curtailment of consumer buying by tightening the terms of payment for houses and durable goods bought on credit has been, and will continue to be, anti-inflationary. The total outstanding short-term consumer debt, including purchases on instalment and on open charge accounts and loans for consumer purchases, increased from $18.6 billion in April to $21.45 billion in September. If we add to this $4 billion to cover the new mortgages on houses, we find that the low-income groups spent a total of some $7 billion on goods which they could not pay for in cash during this five-month period. The curtailment of consumer buying on credit will help us to transfer our economic effort from civilian to military uses. It is unfortunate that this throws an appreciable burden on the poorer groups by depriving them of goods they might otherwise enjoy, but since the poor suffer more than others from sharply rising prices, they may find it less onerous to forgo some extras than to have the prices of necessities mount. Whether restriction on credit purchases should be further increased or relaxed will depend on events.

Despite the use of these various devices we shall still face the problem of bottlenecks. Certain strategic materials have been in such short supply relative to our military and consumer needs that their prices have risen inordinately. Such materials must be subject to allocation by government direction; the steps already taken in respect to a few items are commendable. Price controls on such materials may also have to be applied. In the case of farm products we should stand ready to sell supplies in the hands of the government as soon as prices rise above the support prices, or abandon the price-support plan while the inflationary trend continues.

A SERIOUS impediment to the program I have outlined, with its heavy taxation and restrictions, is that the organs of opinion—the newspapers, magazines, radio, and television—are largely owned and directed by persons who have opposed the national administration for almost twenty years. During all this time the principal opposition theme has been that the "tax spenders" in Washington are greedy and inefficient bureaucrats who constantly seek to extend their power by applying more controls. Although these critics have not been very successful in winning elections, they have undoubtedly influenced large groups of our leading citizens. The effect of their efforts has been to lessen the respect for our national government and to make it more difficult to carry through such a program as is now needed.

If we can overcome this handicap and follow rigorously a program of keeping the budget in balance and using supplementary devices like those already instituted, we should be able to prevent run-away prices without direct price controls—except for certain strategic materials. We should thereby maintain the elasticity of our price system and escape the distress, irritation, and expenditure of labor that accompany rationing and price control. Such good fortune would mean also that we should not need to control wages, otherwise than by general public disapproval of demands for increases beyond productivity gains. If we must impose direct controls on all commodity prices, there appears to be no escape from similar controls over wages.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Snyder's Costly Victory

SECRETARY of the Treasury John W. Snyder has claimed a knock-out victory in his battle with the Federal Reserve Board, about which I wrote on October 21 last. In a speech at a luncheon meeting of the New York Board of Trade on January 19 he hit hard at the Reserve Board's efforts to check credit expansion by stiffening short-term interest rates, saying: "The Treasury is convinced that there is no tangible evidence that a policy of credit rationing by means of small increases in the interest rates on government-borrowed funds has had a real or genuine effect in cutting down the volume of private borrowing and in retarding inflationary pressures. The delusion that fractional changes in interest rates can be effective in fighting inflation must be dispelled from our minds."

Earlier in his speech, rejecting suggestions for a new long-term 3 per cent government bond, Mr. Snyder declared that the present 2½ per cent rate was "fair and equitable" and that any attempt to increase it would seriously upset security markets. "The Treasury Department has concluded," he went on, "after a joint conference with President Truman and Chairman McCabe of the Federal Reserve Board, that the refunding and new money issues will be financed within the pattern of that rate."

It would appear, then, that thanks to the backing of his old Missouri friend, Harry S. Truman, Mr. Snyder has forced the Federal Reserve Board to capitulate. Henceforth, compelled to give priority to the maintenance of cheap money, the board will have to fight credit inflation with one arm tied.

In the light of this development the increase in member banks' required reserves, announced by the board on December 29, appears to be a rather futile gesture. Almost immediately after taking this step, the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve System, no doubt under pressure from the Treasury, "pegged" government-security prices, that is to say, placed unlimited buying orders at just below the market. This provided the banks with an easy method of increasing their legal reserves without intrenching on their loanable funds. All they had to do was to sell some of their government securities, knowing that if insufficient private buyers appeared, the Federal Reserve would accept all offers at a fixed price. As the January *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York puts it, "By and large, the whole of the operation—increasing cash reserve requirements with one hand and supplying cash with the other—is self-defeating. There is no escape from the principle stated by Governor Eccles a year ago: 'In making a cheap money market for the Treasury, we cannot avoid making it cheap for everybody. All monetary and credit restraints are gone under such conditions; the Federal Reserve becomes simply an engine of inflation.' "

The increase in legal reserves becomes fully effective on February 1, by which date the 6,900 member banks of the Reserve System must find roughly two billion dollas to place on deposit with the Federal Reserve banks. We shall not know for some time full details of the arrangements they are making to meet this obligation. However, condition statements of member banks in ninety-four leading cities for the three weeks ending January 17 illustrate the point made in the National City Bank's *Letter*. They show bank sales in this period of $1,038,000,000 in government issues offset to the extent of $461,000,000 by increases in reserve banks' holdings of such securities. Moreover, while total lending by this major group of banks has declined, chiefly because of repayments of brokers' loans, borrowing by industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings has continued to climb.

We are told that the Treasury is hoping to "demonetize" the national debt—that is to say, to shift a large part of it from the banks to other investors. "Pegging" the market helps to forward this end by providing guaranties against loss of principal. But what is the worth of assurances that his government securities will not be allowed to fall below par to an investor who is worrying about the purchasing power of his capital?

The fact is that unless the forward march of prices is halted, Mr. Snyder is going to find it increasingly difficult to persuade either institutional or private investors, except those whose portfolios are restricted by law, to buy government securities, and willy-nilly he will be forced to depend on borrowing from the banks. But since such borrowing adds to the total money supply it must give a fresh fillip to inflation.

Ceilings or no ceilings, it is going to prove impossible to keep prices down as long as business men have as easy access to credit as at present. It will be necessary, therefore, now that the Treasury has spiked the Federal Reserve Board's plans to curtail the volume of loanable funds by normal methods, to fall back on direct credit controls. Unfortunately, the board has few legal bolts left in its locker, and the legislative forging of new ones takes time. However, Congress should give early consideration to Mr. Eccles's proposal that all commercial banks, whether members of the Reserve system or not, should be required to hold an "adequate percentage" of their deposits in a special reserve composed of either government securities or cash. That idea will horrify bankers, but unless some such step is taken, it is hard to see how the Federal Reserve can meet its legal responsibility for the regulation of credit.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Tito's Rebellion

TITO AND GOLIATH. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

MR. ARMSTRONG, the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, who literally knew Yugoslavia before it was born, has now turned his attention to the most significant development in the Communist world since Stalin came to power in the U. S. S. R.—Tito's rebellion. Tito has recently been accessible to Western journalists and has been the subject of many articles and books. But *this* book is not just another pot-boiler on the Balkans; the author has not contented himself with the mere reporting of interviews with Tito, although he did have a most enlightening one as recently as spring, 1950. Mr. Armstrong has analyzed the documents which reveal the origin of the break, and has read and understood the polemic which has followed it. Back in 1936 Bukharin told Mr. Armstrong that conflict between Communist states was by definition impossible. Now that the impossible has occurred, it has found in Mr. Armstrong the ideal chronicler and analyst, qualified by years of study, by a judicial temperament, and by modest common sense.

The first portion of the book deals with Yugoslavia proper, briefly describing Tito's career as a guerrilla leader during the war, his successive triumphs over Mihailovich and King Peter, and his transformation of the partisan movement into a national government. Mr. Armstrong then moves on to examine the origin and course of the quarrel with Stalin. It is clear that the Cominform expelled Tito not because he had lagged behind in "socializing" the Yugoslav state—indeed he was and is far "ahead" of the other East European satellites in this respect—and not because he was a Menshevik or a Trotskyite or a Bakuninist or any other kind of deviationist, although he was accused of being all these things at once, but because he was determined to resist Soviet penetration of the Yugoslav secret police and military intelligence service, and to thwart Soviet plans to exploit Yugoslavia for purely Russian military, economic, and political purposes. Though a devoted Stalinist and a trusted and successful party leader, Tito was unwilling to accept Stalin's dictation and give up his own plans for industrialization and his control over the machinery of the party and the state. He was able to secede from the Soviet empire partly because of Yugoslavia's geographic position, partly because there were no Soviet troops in the country—Yugoslavia having been an ally during World War II—and partly because he had himself built the Yugoslav Communist Party, which was by and large loyal to him first. Even after he decided to resist Soviet pressure, Tito pursued the plans for the formation of a Balkan federation which Stalin had once appeared to bless.

The second portion of the book deals, country by country, with Titoism (Communist discontent wtih Soviet policies) as it has manifested itself in the other East European satellites. Here the Russians have until now succeeded in repressing it, as was demonstrated by the trial and execution of Rajk in Hungary, of Kostov in Bulgaria, and of Xoxe in Albania, and by the disgrace of Gomulka in Poland, of Clementis in Czechoslovakia, and of Patrascanu in Rumania. The presence of Soviet troops in these countries and the penetration of Soviet influences into the national armies have so far proved decisive. Perhaps Mr. Armstrong overrates the importance of the Titoite heresy in Eastern Europe, where it may well have run its course. Except perhaps for Albania, least important of all the countries, which might conceivably be detached from the Soviet bloc, we probably cannot expect rebellious sentiment to manifest itself in Eastern Europe until the Russians are defeated somewhere in the world. If such a defeat should occur, and if the populations of the satellites should have an opportunity to make their voices heard, the probability seems high that they would reject all forms of communism, Titoism included, in favor of some purely indigenous regime.

In the Far East, in the West European Communist parties, and among fellow-travelers Tito's action has also had its effects, but this is not as yet fully determined. By embroiling the Chinese Communists with the West, Stalin has apparently succeeded in making them dependent on Moscow for the present, although Mao will almost inevitably be tempted to assert himself sometime in the future. While some notable figures in the Western parties and among fellow-travelers have become outspoken admirers of Tito—Mr. Armstrong calls them "Zilliaci," a beautiful Latin plural for a singular Finn—no major party split appears to have taken place on the issue. Surely Mr. Armstrong is justified, however, in affirming that the international Communist movement has suffered serious injury.

Finally, Mr. Armstrong supports our present policies with regard to Tito and gives the State Department great credit, which in my opinion it deserves, for perceiving the value of the quarrel to the West and for realizing that it is not advisable to press Tito with regard to his domestic policies. The decentralization of Yugoslav industry, dictated as much by economic crisis as by political considerations, the removal of a few special privileges from members of the party hierarchy, and certain other tendencies at work in the regime may conceivably be signs of a liberalizing trend. At any rate, as Armstrong says, "here is a Communist country with doors open to visitors."

Despite its great merits this book arouses one major doubt. The entire subject is so complex and requires so much background, which the author has but which many of his readers will presumably lack, that one wonders whether the general public will follow the tortuous thread. There is nothing here on Yugoslav history before the Second World War, nothing on the background of national rivalries and of territorial and other issues in the Balkans, no map to show national boundaries, much less

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the location of the provinces of Kosovo, northern Bukovina, southern Dobrudja, and the like, all freely referred to as if everyone knew where they are. Though written in an easy popular style, Mr. Armstrong's book may be primarily one for the specialist.

Some minor points remain: it seems to me that Mr. Armstrong is too gentle (pp. 22 ff.) with Mihailovich, although he rightly maintains that we may well have contributed to the General's failings. However much the Western Allies may share the blame, is it not true that Mihailovich passively and his subordinate commanders actively collaborated with the enemy? Mr. Armstrong does not mention post-war German testimony to the fact that the Germans used Mihailovich. He also seems not to know the Hungarian government publication on the Rajk trial ("Laszlo Rajk and his Accomplices Before the People's Court," Budapest, 1949), the full text of which is a tissue of the clumsiest fabrications, full of internal contradictions. Probably Sreten Zhuyovich, one of the two presumed Soviet agents in the former Yugoslav Politburo, was released after Mr. Armstrong's book had gone to press. At any rate Zhuyovich is now out of jail and professes to be a convert to Tito's position. On page 134 Hugh Seton-Watson's book on Eastern Europe is attributed to his father, R. W. Seton-Watson. And on page 22 Siberia appears where Serbia should be, surely not a wishful thought. But these are not important criticisms. This is an excellent book.

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

Hitler as Strategist

HITLER DIRECTS HIS WAR. The Secret Records of His Daily Military Conferences. Selected and Annotated by Felix Gilbert. Oxford University Press. $3.25.

NEARLY six years have passed since Hitler's suicide and the end of the European phase of the Second World War. Eyewitnesses and participants have poured out their stories in interviews and memoirs, and literally tons of documents have been dredged up from the wreckage of the defeat. Yet the phenomenon of Nazism remains incrusted with problems. Just as fascism in its broadest aspects awaits a complete and balanced philosophical treatment, so Hitler himself is still without an adequate biography. Even on the narrower question of Hitler's military talents, the authorities are at variance. Most of the testimony—particularly that of the surviving German generals—reduces the Führer to the role of a gifted amateur, whose "intuitive" decisions, adhered to with a stubbornness approaching mania, brought the Axis to military ruin. Less numerous but perhaps more impartial observers have found surprising confirmation for the propagandists' claim that Hitler was a military "genius." To this question Professor Gilbert's book provides a very nearly conclusive answer. And on the broader problems of the Führer's own personality and the character of fascist leadership in general, it opens up new and rewarding perspectives.

"Hitler Directs His War" represents a selection from the stenographic record of Hitler's daily conferences with his military advisers. Recovered only in charred fragments, the record was pieced together and reconstructed by a team of counter-intelligence men led by George Allen, who explains the procedure in the foreword to the present book. The result totaled about 800 typed pages—out of a document originally running to more than 200,000. From this, Professor Gilbert selected the passages which form the core of his book, concentrating on those which combined historical interest with sufficient clarity and continuity to be intelligible to the average reader.

The responsibility of the editor was hence far greater than in the average job of documentary publication. And Professor Gilbert has admirably carried out this assignment. Besides providing a lucid and illuminating introduction, he has filled out the fragmentary record at his disposal by drawing on a wide variety of war histories and memoirs. With such devices as a brief dramatis personae at the beginning of the book, an explanatory paragraph or two setting the stage for each conference, and a series of running comments in the footnotes, he has made it easy for the reader to follow the thread of the discussion. The result combines rigorous scholarship with a high dramatic value. From these tense, frequently disjointed conferences there emerges an overpowering impression of actuality. The personalities—particularly Hitler's own—stand out sharply. Fortunately the surviving parts of the record give us the Führer's private reaction to three of his worst misfortunes—the surrender at Stalingrad, the collapse of Italy, and the bomb explosion of July 20, 1944.

We learn many things about the war of which we were not sure before: that the collapse of Italy, by necessitating a reshuffling of SS-Panzer divisions, ac-

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tually reduced to some extent the pressure on the Russian front; that Hitler believed the Anglo-American landing in Normandy would come in February or March rather than in June; that he distrusted the Japanese and respected the British; and that his conviction that Germany would emerge intact from its defeats remained unshaken up to six weeks before the final surrender—when the record abruptly breaks off. This conviction was based on the presumed inevitability of a rupture between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies. In Hitler's phrase, "All of the coalitions have disintegrated in history sooner or later." Today, after six years of a slow but inexorable reversal of alliances, such a theory does not sound quite so fantastic as in the last phases of the battle for Germany.

The picture that gradually forms itself of Hitler as a strategist represents a compromise between the two conflicting evaluations of his talent. In this record there are no tantrums and comparatively few monologues. Most of the time Hitler appears to reach his decisions after considerable discussion and on the basis of rational considerations. He is good on very large or on very small questions: his weakness lies in the professional, "operational" area in between. Thus, as the editor points out, perhaps his greatest strength is his appreciation of the psychological element in warfare—as regards both the civilian population and the ordinary soldier. It may be amusing to hear him lecture his generals on his experiences as a corporal in the First World War—but, in psychological terms, he is usually right. The same is true of his insistence that any effort to minimize air-raid damage will only infuriate the inhabitants of bombed-out areas. Nevertheless, as the war draws toward its close, Hitler begins to bog down in details. He haggles over every gun sent out as a replacement, and he argues at length with Goering as to whether desk officers drafted into the *Volkssturm* should be reduced in rank. At the very end the Führer's military vision appears to be badly out of focus.

Similarly, as we read on, the picture of Hitler the man begins to predominate over that of Hitler the strategist. His personal aberrations emerge with glaring clarity. A simple lack of education betrays itself in his primitive notions about the United States: his economic and social evaluation sounds like a parody on the views of a right-wing Republican, and his knowledge of agrarian conditions appears to derive practically entirely from the film "The Grapes of Wrath." Other passages could serve as textbook examples for a study of abnormal psychology. He dwells at length on the "unpleasant feeling" of confronting a flame-thrower. Infuriated by the decision of Field Marshal Paulus, the commander at Stalingrad, to surrender rather than commit suicide, he brings up three different times the story of an unidentified woman—"such a beautiful woman . . . first class"—who had the courage "to shoot herself right away just because she heard a few insulting remarks." The translation—which is admirably colloquial—may not convey completely what Professor Gilbert calls "a penetrating and pervading . . . impression of vulgarity," but it conveys enough. All this forms a most valuable addition to our understanding of the baffling and all-important problem of leadership in the fascist state.

H. STUART HUGHES

A Universal Fable

THE PENCIL OF GOD. By Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

ALTHOUGH "The Pencil of God" fairly dazzles the reader with local color and is, clearly, a work of documentary importance, the brothers Marcelin, instead of exploiting their treasure for extra-literary purposes, have used it to create fiction. Their book is so very good because it is at once a universal fable and a skilful realization of the fictional possibilities of astonishing particulars. Leaders in the revolt of Haitian writers against the intellectual hegemony of France and the United States in the island, they have gone straight to native life—that is, to the life of the 90 per cent of the population which has not been Europeanized—for their material. This is the engrossing tale of the undoing of Diogène Cyprien, a mulatto Everyman, whose sexual appetite brings him—through no very great fault of his own—to domestic cataclysm, Voodoo, and ruin.

His story is told as a folk tale, a form which as practiced nowadays is likely to lead to whimsy and coyness and to leave the reader with a sense of the author's superiority to his material. These pitfalls the Marcelins have avoided. Nor do they propound any kind of neo-primitivism. Quite unpretentiously they stick to their facts; at least they make them sound like the facts, which is all that matters. What happens to Diogène is not tragedy, because, since he is Everyman, tragedy cannot befall him. Some of it is even very funny. His is only an imperfectly illuminated soul, but in portraying its eclipse his creators are neither sentimental nor patronizing.

Throughout the novel we are always in two worlds: in one, which is ours as well as Diogène's, human beings suffer and ordinary human folly is likely to reap the whirlwind; in the other, supernatural and capricious powers may be invoked by the initiate for the destruction of his enemies, guilty and guiltless. In this second world, so skilfully evoked that the goings-on in it seem perfectly natural, events unfold according to an irrevocable logic: "But look, Diogène," his sensible uncle admonishes the hero during one of the numerous crises which beset him, ". . . you're already linked up with this spirit from the dead and there's no way for you to wiggle out of your agreement with it. Whether it all happened in a dream or not is beside the point." Or, as a Voodoo initiate reasons, ". . . one never knows what a magician is apt to do next." Yet the worlds overlap; this is a logic which we also discern in events, although, eschewing magic, we define it with clichés: "the way things happen," "the irony of fate," "poetic justice."

As Edmund Wilson points out in his excellent introduction—a shortened version of it was printed in *The Nation* of October 14, 1950—Voodoo involves a set of practices and beliefs "quite primitive and at the same time fantastically elaborate," which, until recently, Haitian writers scorned as unworthy their attention. (The Marcelins' interest in it was apparently first aroused, not by their observation of the life around them, but by reading William Seabrook's "The Magic Island.") In "The Pencil of

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God" it is observed with ironic detachment. The misfortunes and vicissitudes of Diogène Cyprien are likely to happen to any man who incurs the displeasure of his neighbors and, subsequently, of the spirits. But they are also likely to happen to Everyman similarly situated in a dissimilar culture. Diogène's notion of man's life as something at the disposal of capricious powers whose final purposes are a mystery is hardly alien to us:

He [Diogène] was loath to goad Fate into a sudden decision, one which conceivably could go contrary to his wishes, and which, most assuredly, would be beyond all appeal, for, as he was fond of repeating, "The pencil of God has no eraser."

The ironic detachment which distinguishes the writing can be briefly illuminated by reference to an early minor episode. To the curé, an importation from France, it is clear that Diogène's seduction of the Negress, Lourdes, the madness of his wife, and the subsequent round of quarrels in which these events embroil him are the result of bewitchment by one of the Voodoo deities, a Baron Samedi, whose grave, "surmounted by a large black cross" and sheltered by a fig tree, is directly in front of Lourdes's cottage:

That very afternoon, after vespers, having assembled the fanatical brigade of Saint Michael, he proceeded to the crossroads in his surplice, where he went through the ritual of exorcism and had the grave and the cross destroyed. He would have leveled the fig tree as well if the mayor hadn't protested, claiming that Toussaint L'Ouverture had once rested in its shade.

The Marcelins have created excellent fiction out of material which at first glance seems so bizarre, so specialized, that any imaginative use of it might easily involve diluting the facts or, worse, sacrificing the fiction to them. The facts do not seem to have been diluted; on one level "The Pencil of God" reads like a sober and reliable account of possession. Yet anthropological speculation never intrudes on the fiction. And this perfectly realized world, in which life goes on, richly and profusely, yet marked always with an almost Hardyesque sense of the fatality which governs even the slightest events, is as relevant to us as to Diogène, just as his folly, his anxiety, and his guilt are ours.

ERNEST JONES

Books in Brief

THE GREAT ILLUSION. An informal History of Prohibition. By Herbert Asbury. Doubleday. $4. Mr. Asbury has written an entertaining account of American drinking habits and temperance movements from the late eighteenth century to the present. Most space is given to the prohibition era, and the details of that nightmare are sharply revived. Even those of us who lived through it can hardly believe that events which we then took with a shrug of the shoulders can really have happened. Probably nothing else—not even our most destructive wars—ever came quite so close to destroying American civilization. Mr. Asbury obviously realizes that fact, but unlike some chroniclers he resists the temptation to paint a flattering picture of the liquor trade, either before or since. That trade, he thinks, learned nothing and may even inspire another noble experiment.

AMERICAN PAINTING. By Virgil Barker. Macmillan. $12.50. From the nine-page table of contents and the exhaustive bibliographies one gets the initial impression that this two-pound book will be as unreadable as it looks indispensable. Barker's trail through the history of our painting from the time of the earliest settlers to Homer and Eakins leads exclusively from individual to individual. The text is necessarily, therefore, chopped up into a large number of brief essays. But they are very readable indeed. The book may best be described as a new Samuel Isham, History of American Painting, brought up to date with respect to recent scholarship. In the section on post-war still lifes, for example, Alfred Frankenstein's brilliant detective work in rediscovering John Frederick Peto's identity under forged signatures of William Harnett is adequately summarized, though Peto's art is underrated.

Drama Note

MAURICE EVANS'S performance of Richard in "King Richard II" (New York City Center until February 4) is as fine as it was in 1937, and fortunately the cast he has mustered for this revival is sufficiently accomplished to support his lead. Kent Smith is a compelling Bolingbroke—and this is particularly important, since the tension of the play, for modern spectators, springs primarily from the contrast between these two temperaments, each having a claim on our sympathy and each providing a commentary on the other. What is also important, the play is read as poetry throughout, as it should be, and from this base of music Richard's outbursts rise, as they should, like arias—with wonderful effect. Settings and costumes are molded on those of 1937, and Margaret Webster is again the director. See it if you can.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE current Hollywood releases are mostly virtuoso pieces tailored to show off the florid craftsmanship of some expensive actors. The recent turn to slow, close-up presentation has brought about a measured, theatrical type of acting in which daring, often anomalous touches supply the interest that once came from large-scale action, environmental situation. The total effect

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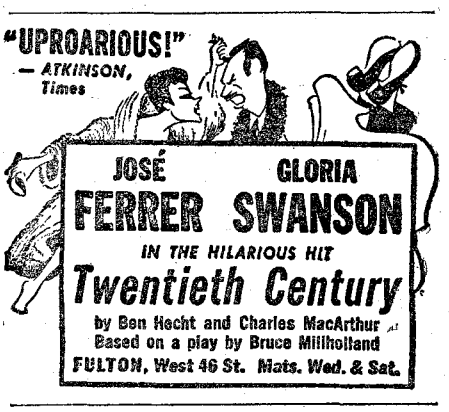
of the films mentioned below makes me yearn for the tough, plain, understated acting that appeared in "The Set-up" a few years back, and before that in films like "The Ox-Bow Incident" and "The Clock." With the exception of a few underrated players (Ann Sheridan, Robert Ryan, Grable), actors today give the impression of social workers improving movie characters with a liberal-minded, educated attitude and an elegant, flamboyant acting technique.

For instance, Judy Holliday in "Born Yesterday." Satirizing a ritzy graduate of the Bronx who moves into Washington circles on the arm of an unprincipled roughneck (Crawford), the begirdled blonde provides a noisy, overlong farce with all its speed and fun. But her performance is always too trained and intellectualized for a delicatessen type with the toughness, vulgarity, and garrulousness one encounters on the New York subway. Her Mae West walk is the mechanical maneuver of a university-educated mimic; her statuesque bearing in tight, gaudy gowns produces a ludicrous effect but also a feeling that the actress has never really liked tasteless clothes. Holliday's rescue from illiteracy and sin by a gallant bookworm (Holden) in shiny spectacles is a predictable event in a film that squeaks with a do-good spirit and brainy, democratic-looking actors. The success of the picture is due to direction (Cukor) that makes one hyperconscious of visual gags and wastes little time authenticating the brassy Kanin play.

The story of the Supreme Court's Holmes (Louis Calhern) starts in his sixty-first year and so caricatures old age that I advise sensitive old folks to forgo "The Magnificent Yankee." The theatrical Calhern mauls the process of growing old into a picturesque joke of rheumatism, fatigue, diminishing powers. The script periodically cues Calhern to pluck a flower from a small fenced garden, and each time Calhern loads the screen with creaking motion and strained humor. Endless scenes show a silly fascination with rickety physique: Holmes's feebly bent posture before the Lincoln Memorial, his bouncy-kneed strolls with Brandeis in Rock Creek Park, the laborious attempt to straighten his spine for a meeting with Roosevelt. For crafty virtuosity Calhern is a bag of admirable tricks—he greets each of thirty birthday well-wishers with a different grimace of affection—but because he loves to flaunt urbanity and skill, he turns "the great dissenter" into a gay old dog.

"Branded" is a wordy but tightly edited western; among Hollywood cowboys Glenn Ford is the trickiest horseman, Randy Scott has a lonely, weather-worn façade, Cooper is the handiest with six-shooters, but the star of this film, Alan Ladd, is an anachronism, from his crisp, pavement glide to his well-bred sneer. Ladd, seldom forfeiting a character for comic showboating and fancy style, is sold out by direction (Mate) that pins his deceptive, slight build under tablecloth shirts, loses his impenetrable face in the shade of ten-gallon hats, and takes little advantage of his quick, efficient movements. When he isn't flexing or bending over backward to see his biceps, he is wandering up and down the Rio Grande—"like a ferry-boat"—verbally unfolding the complicated plot.

The antidote to all this baroque acting is offered in "Operation Disaster," a submarine documentary anchored by a theatrical script but made seaworthy by its underplaying cast. The sailors were obviously recruited from Rank, Inc.: a grimy face always bears the tell-tale smudge on the cheekbone; the forthright, confident eyes are those of battle-hardened actors; Captain Armstrong's (Mills) tapping of signals to a diver is the cool, crisp action of an officer who knows his listener has read the script. But these British players live inside their characters as though they owed a debt to real life; their fiddling with pen-knife, dice, or soiled cards amounts to more than just a move against a static script. Few moments are squandered on clichés like the sight of seagulls ascending heavenward as the submarine Trojan submerges. The movie sticks to its business of educating the audience on the week-long business of salvaging sub and crew, despite the tiny message at the beginning which announces that the British use a different salvaging technique from the one disclosed in the film.



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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen" on Allegro records (AL-60) include not only some of the most beautiful music of Purcell that I have ever heard but some of the most powerfully expressive—the soprano's *O let me weep forever!* and the bass's *Next winter comes slowly.* The records reproduce well (with the pre-emphasized treble cut down) the excellent performance conducted by Daniel Pinkham at Harvard University last May, with Phyllis Curtin, soprano, Eleanor Davis, mezzo-soprano, Paul Tibbetts, bass, and the Cambridge Festival Chorus and Orchestra. If they give us all that was performed then Mr. Pinkham is open to criticism for not performing the entire work; otherwise he is open to criticism for allowing the abridgement to be recorded.

Cetra-Soria is open to similar criticism for giving us only excerpts from Rossini's "Cenerentola" (1208)—excerpts which turn out to be some of the finest examples of Rossini's writing in his lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles. They are beautifully and brilliantly sung by Giulietta Simionato, mezzo-soprano,

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Cesar Valletti, tenor, Saturno Meletti, baritone, and Cristiano Dalamangas, bass, with the orchestra and chorus of Radio Italiana under the direction of Mario Rossi; but the performance is reproduced with some distortion of the solo voices, and the overall sound, which lacks sufficient bass, loses volume and brightness and acquires a hash of high-frequency distortion as the stylus approaches the end of the record-side.

I don't think this is the fault of my reproducing equipment, since the Cetra-Soria records of Verdi's "Ernani" (1210) reproduce this work excellently. After other early works of Verdi, "Ernani," which I now have heard for the first time, is a disappointment—mostly a workmanlike job with only a few passages rising to the level of exciting expressive force or beauty that his powers achieve in those other works. The performance is a good one, with an excellent tenor, Gino Penno, soprano, Caternia Mancini, and bass, Giacomo Vaghi; a baritone, Giuseppe Taddei, who forces his voice to the point of distorting vibrato; and the orchestra of Radio Italiana under the direction of Fernando Previtali.

Adriana Guerrini's singing is reason enough to skip Columbia's latest LP recording of "La Traviata"—additional reasons being Luigi Infantino's singing after Act 1, and the occasional motor-rumbles and other noises of the original 78 rpm records.

Columbia's record of Verdi arias—from "Ernani," "La Traviata," "Don Carlo," "La Forza del Destino," and "Otello"—sung by Eleanor Steber with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Fausto Cleva is another matter. In the arias from "La Traviata" the voice is clouded with tremolo, and elsewhere there is an occasional shrill high note; but for the most part Steber sings with lustrous beauty of voice as well as her fine musical taste and impressive style. One notes, however, that because of its faster pace (which may be Cleva's) her performance of the aria from "Don Carlo" doesn't have the spaciousness and grandeur of Ellabelle Davis's on the London record. No texts are given.

Another Columbia record offers *Porgi amor* and *Deh vieni, non tardar* from "The Marriage of Figaro," beautifully sung by Bidu Sayao with stodgy orchestral accompaniments conducted by Paul Breisach that are reproduced with veiled sound. Her singing of *Vedrai, carino* from "Don Giovanni" is also good, but reproduced with occasional harshness and edge; that of *Batti, batti* is excessively arch with much swelling and contracting of tone; and the orchestral accompaniments conducted by Leinsdorf are coarsely reproduced. Unsuitably coupled with the Mozart arias are songs and arias by Hahn, Duparc, Massenet, and Debussy. No texts.

A Cetra-Soria record (50.019) offers LP dubbings of Italo Tajo's performances of several Mozart arias—the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni," the brilliant buffo aria *Rivolgete a lui* originally intended for Così Fan Tutte," and a few other arias for concerts or other composers' operas, including the grand-style *Alcandro, lo confesso* and *Mentre ti lascio*. Tajo's performance of *Mentre*, faster in pace than Pinza's, is also less dramatically imposing; and the one of the Catalogue Aria is even more hammed up than Pinza's; but the others are quite good. Treble must be stepped up—which also steps up the surface noise of the original 78 rpm records.

On another Cetra-Soria record (50.035) are dubbings of Cesare Siepi's performances of arias from "I Vespri Siciliani," "Nabucco," "Ernani," "Don Carlo," "Don Giovanni," "La Sonnambula," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," "L'Italiana in Algeri," and "Mefistofele." They are well sung—the great *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo" and fine *Vi ravviso* from "La Sonnambula" especially so; but the "Don Carlo" music loses the effectiveness it would have with first-rate playing of the orchestral part.

On still another Cetra-Soria record (50.031) Ebe Stignani exhibits sumptuous beauty of voice and superb phrasing in arias from "Orfeo," "Alceste," and "Samson et Delila," but not in arias from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" and "Sermiramide." No texts.

An RCA Victor 78 offers *Una furtiva lagrima* from "L'Elisir d'Amore" sung by Bjoerling with his beautiful voice and musical taste—Grevilius conducting the orchestra. An aria from Cilea's "L'Arlesiana" is on the reverse side.

On a Columbia LP the three excerpts from Berg's "Wozzek"—effective soundtrack for the action—are well performed by Gertrude Ribla and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy. Unsuitably coupled with them is the Song of the Wood Dove from Schönberg's "Gurrelieder," sung by Martha Lipton with the New York Philharmonic under Stokowski.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Custom Dictates

Dear Sirs: It has always been diplomatic custom to recognize any "de facto" government which can show that it controls and governs the major part of a state which it has seized by conquest or revolution. This principle has held good whether or not the character or ideology of such a government met with the approval of other nations. The United States, for example, had diplomatic relations with czarist Russia for years, and somewhat belatedly recognized Soviet Russia. It recognizes the governments of dictators like Perón, Trujillo, and Franco.

It is difficult, therefore, to understand why we have not recognized the present Chinese government, which controls the whole of China except Formosa, or permitted it membership in the U. N. The Chinese have refused to discuss an armistice in Korea with the U. N. because as non-members they do not feel bound by any rules the U. N. may lay down. Yielding to their wishes might mean "loss of face" under the present military circumstances, but I feel, although I heartily disapprove of any Communist or totalitarian government, that diplomatic usage as well as common sense dictates such action.

WALTER W. JUDELL

Milwaukee, Wis., January 24

Right of Persuasion

Dear Sirs: I must say that I was surprised by Carey McWilliams's attitude toward certain British lecturers in this country and their sponsors, as expressed in his article, Knights in Shining Buicks, in your January 6 issue.

If one is socialistically or communistically inclined, one has or should have the privilege of extolling the accomplishments of the Labor government in England. But if ex-Senator Hawkes, Senator Kem, Congressman Gwin, J. Howard Pew, Lammot du Pont, Merwin K. Hart, President Benson of Harding College, and Dr. Fifield think differently, they have a patriotic duty to make reasonable efforts to show the failure and fallacies of the Labor government. If in their opinion they can best do this by bringing such men as Dr. Daniels and Mr. Palmer to this country to make public addresses, they should not be criticized. Mr. McWilliams is of course free to refute any false or misleading statements made by Daniels or Palmer or others.

T. W. PHILLIPS

Butler, Pa., January 18

Tragic Children

Dear Sirs: I have just read Charles R. Joy's moving article (in *The Nation*, January 27) on the Spanish refugees in southern France. The statement, "The Spanish refugees are slowly starving to death," staggers the mind. That after fourteen years of misery there should still be 250,000 Spanish refugees in France who are unable to return home, who cannot be integrated into the French economy, and who have now been abandoned through the liquidation of the relief activities of the International Refugee Organization is a serious reflection upon the world's capacity for compassion. It has been established that only a small percentage of these exiles have had any Communist connection. Nine-tenths belong to other parties. But the question is not one of politics, in any case, but of humanity, and the heart is wrung by the mass suffering—particularly that of the children.

Is there no way of rescuing these innocents from the oubliette into which they've been cast? Those under fourteen have known nothing but hardship all their lives; they have seen their fathers killed, their mothers die of disease, their brothers and sisters disappear. They are intimately acquainted with prison, banishment, the dark, obscenely crowded, foul-smelling lodgings of internment camps. They live with cold and hunger. How can our hearts refuse to help them?

Shall we acquit our responsibility with shocked and futile sentimentality, saying "How dreadful!" and then forgetting? Is it not possible to face this problem realistically, and usefully? I think so, which is why I ask that every *Nation* reader send a CARE package to one of these tragic children. I understand an all-lard package can be sent for $4, a budget parcel for $6.95, and a standard food package for $10.

These small creatures cannot plead their own cases. Let me plead for them, for I know that the heart of America is still vulnerable and tender.

FAITH BALDWIN

New Canaan, Conn., January 27

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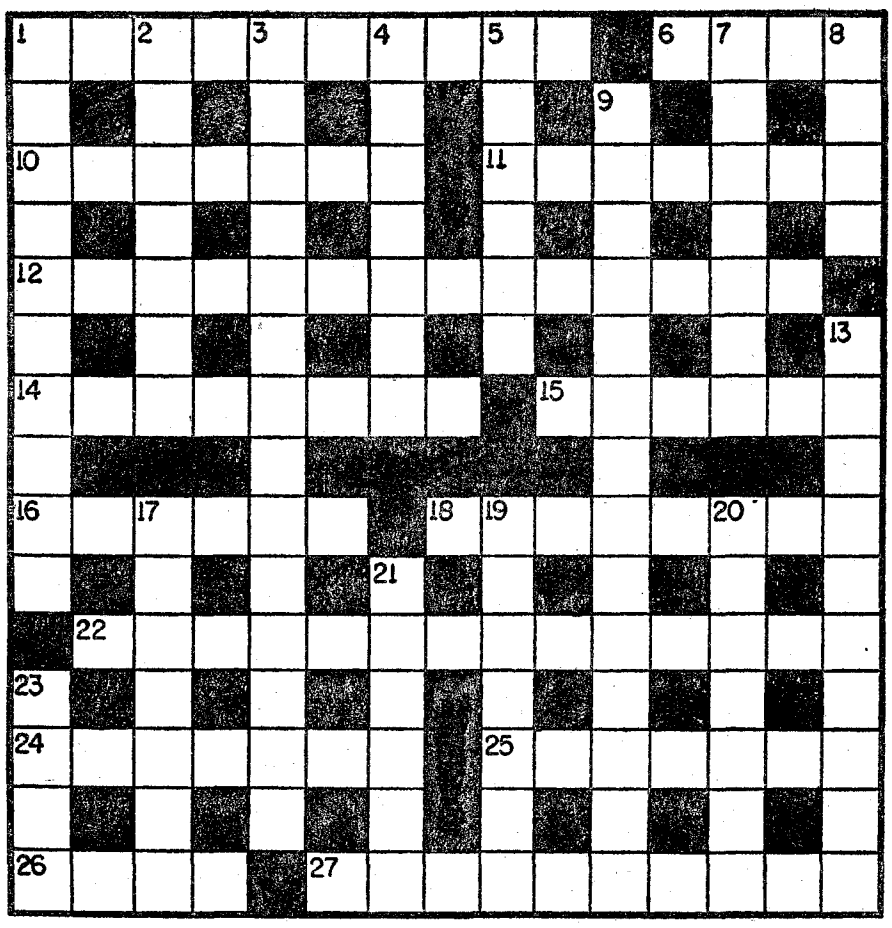
Crossword Puzzle No. 398

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Evidently the Bard is fair target! (4, 2, 4)
6 Reputedly slow but thorough millers. (4)
10 Examples might be the Fox and the Crow, singularly brave. (7)
11 See 5 down.
12 What Alice heard was beautiful of the evening! (4-6, 4)
14 Ready for emergencies in China. (4, 4)
15 Sounds cold, so it runs around the building! (6)
16 They cast shadows in coming. (6)
18 Executes. (8)
22 Car dealer's sales approach? (14)
24 Is little Violet up to her old tricks? (7)
25 and 23 down. Eggs and "chicks" might be given this! (3, 4-4)
26 Prays without piano accompaniment. (4)
27 Clothing is satisfactory (but only optional, at times). (5, 5)

DOWN

1 Like Loos men? (4-6)
2 Revises Communistic behavior? (7)
3 A pet turns a home into a different sort of place. (9, 5)
4 The old veterans return to their little capital. (7)
5 and 11. Good place for Singer's troupe to play. (6, 7)
7 Stand out like a form of redoubt. (7)
8 After 23, is this a superior prognostigator? (4)
9 Carping. (14)
13 Mercury was one of these for the 6. (10)
17 He takes care of all the king's horses. (7)
19 A disorderly sea-gent refuses. (7)
20 Is the head of Chicago not in favor of wine? (7)
21 Is the steward ready for osculation? (6)
23 See 25 across.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 397

ACROSS:—1 HEAVENS TO BETSY; 8 LONG-STANDING; 10 INHUMANITY; 13 GALLON; 14 ARRANGER; 16 and 11 OUT IN THE COLD; 17 SHRIEK; 19 POOL; 20 BLUEBOTTLE; 22 REMONSTRANCE; 23 RELENTLESSNESS.

DOWN:—1 HOLDING COMPANY; 2 ANNIHILATION; 3 EPSOM DOWNS; 4 STAINS; 5 OLDSTERS; 6 ETNA; 7 FINDERS KEEPERS; 9 LONG-DISTANCE; 12 WASHBOARDS; 15 CHILKOOT; 18 LESSEE; 21 HERE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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WHICH WILL IT BE?

Which will it be? A new policy of live and let live? Or a Samson-like attempt to end the world in an atomic holocaust?

No one knows. No one can know. But what is important is that the issue is not yet settled, that time is on the side of life, and that the margin of decision may be extremely close. That means that the American Left, small and weak as it is, may yet be able to play a significant role in the outcome. We do not control the situation; far from it. But when the scales are evenly balanced, a small weight will tip them one way or the other. We of the Left, if we diagnose the situation correctly and act on our diagnosis, can even now exert a little weight, and as time goes by we shall be able to exert more. Let us be sure that we do the most and the best we can.

At the moment the most urgent task is to hasten the disillusionment of the American people. As we have seen above, the process is already under way: over the clamant lying of ruling-class propaganda, facts are beginning to have their say. It is our duty to amplify their voice and swell their audience. We must drive home with every resource at our command these truths:

1. American policy is leading not to peace and national security but to war and national disaster.
2. American policy is making not allies but enemies.
3. American military strength can *never* be built up enough to wage successful wars in Asia and Europe. Manpower and distance are the decisive factors: the Soviet Union and China have a combined population of nearly 700 million and would be fighting on home ground; the United States has a population of 150 million and would be fighting anywhere from three to six thousand miles away from home.
4. This disparity cannot be made up by atomic weapons. They can massacre people and destroy cities but not win wars; the massacre and destruction would take place on both sides.
5. This disparity cannot be made up by allied armies. America's allies are weak, and they are turning increasingly against the policy of preparing to fight America's wars.
6. A serious attempt to arm West Germany could precipitate war; it could never add to America's military strength or bring security to any part of Europe.
7. In the Far East the old order of colonialism and white supremacy is already dead; from now on the peoples of that region will decide their own fate, and anyone attempting to intervene by force will be thrown out.
8. No country or combination of countries could wage successful warfare against the western hemisphere; none has remotely threatened to try.
9. The decision as to whether the world is to have peace or war, life or death, is entirely up to the United States government, and hence indirectly to the American people.

Drive these truths home—on any and every occasion—singly or in combination. Tear aside the veil of lies that is keeping the American people from seeing the awful peril of their course. These are the tasks of the American Left in this crucial hour of our national history. To the extent that we succeed, we shall contribute to saving not only ourselves but the whole world. And at the same time we shall win new recruits to our cause—the cause to which the future belongs.

From the Monthly Review • January, 1951

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